1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[39]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling. The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry, they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family system. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the 567 kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each 592 household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless the slaves are human beings, not immovables; and their behavior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices to treat here the relationship between master and slaves within the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrela- 351 tionships are based on material aspects. First, we shall describe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environ- [132] ment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Taliang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we [343] first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, inhabited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fastened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at ● 231 least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

231 were able to deal with them effectively; otherwise we would have been hard put to defend ourselves even if we had sticks in our hands.

342 [40] At the back wall of Yo-ha's house are located the family's living quarters, consisting of a rectangular room built entirely of wood. The roof is also made of wood with stones on top to protect it from wind and snow. The stones are arranged in an orderly and pleasing manner on the roof. There is a wooden door in the room, but no window. Upon entering the room, one immediately feels suffocated in the nose and mouth by widespread clouds of smoke from the fire in the 354 hearth. The construction of the hearth, which is located slightly to the left of the center of the room, is very simple. A round pit about three feet in diameter is dug in the ground for building the fire. Three stone slabs are placed in a triangle over this pit to support the large iron pan used for cooking. The [439] pan, round at the bottom, is imported from the Han-Chinese. The fire is lighted by striking a flint with a piece of iron, but [372] actually the fire in the pit is never allowed to go out and it burns day and night. The center of all family activities, the hearth plays an important part in the Lolo household, as is shown later in our discussion of their family life.

516 When we entered the house, we were welcomed by Yo-
353 ha and invited to sit at the back of the hearth by the rear wall. This is the seat of honor for guests. Yo-ha himself took the host's seat on the left side of the hearth. At the back of the host's seat, or sometimes on the left side of the room divided by a wooden partition, were the family sleeping quarters, which also served as the storage place for precious articles and 352 provisions. In front of the hearth stood a wooden cabinet, 415 wooden shelves, water pails, and all the food utensils. Under the shelves were firewood and straw. The right side of the room was divided by a bamboo fence into two sections: a grindstone, a mortar, wooden pails, bamboo baskets, and other articles in the rear half; and two yellow oxen in a [231] wooden pen in the front half. This was the arrangement of Yo-ha's house.

342 Most of the houses in Ta-liang Shan are the same as
351 Yo-ha's, but there are a few exceptions. For example, the house of our headman-protector, Ta-chi, is well known in the Liang Shan area as a Sinicized Lolo house. It has brick walls, a tiled roof, and an arched stone gate with Chinese characters carved on the top and sides. Inside the gate are two sections, the front being a Chinese-style courtyard with animal pens

514 Lolo families would kill chicken and sheep to entertain us.
[231] Instead of stabbing the chicken with a knife, they would wring its neck with their hands until it suffocated to death. After
252 having seared off its feathers over a fire, they would boil it, roast it, or make soup with it. If they killed a sheep, they
[281] would always flay the skin very dexterously and use it to make a tobacco pouch or bag. The meat is carved into large pieces and cooked together with the bones. Only a little salt is added
[263] so that the taste is extremely light. As salt is very scarce in the region, the Lolo consider it as something precious. They
264 serve mutton in a broad-mouthed and flat-bottomed wooden
[415] bowl, often painted with pictures. The Lolo sit on the floor when eating. Rich black Lolo families would entertain their
[352] honored guests around a small round wooden table, about a half foot from the ground and two feet in diameter. At a feast given us by Ta-chi's family, they used this kind of small table on which were placed mutton, rice, and other food. The Lolo did not eat with us. At every meal there were four groups: the members of the inspection team, considered as honored guests, formed a group at the rear side of the stove; the black Lolo master and his family lined up on the left side; the hired laborers of our team, including the Han-Chinese or Lolo carriers, formed another group on the right side; the last group consisted of the black Lolo's household slaves. The last two groups might mingle with one another, but the hosts and guests always formed separate groups and never mixed with the white Lolo or the household slaves. From the Lolo point of view, members of the inspection team were equal to Chinese nobles and had the same status as the black Lolo.

514 According to Lolo custom, the food should not be en-
[264] joyed alone, but by all who belong to the household, even the slaves. Every time the Lolo killed a sheep to entertain us, it was shared by ten and more persons so that after the meal nothing was left of the animal. At the end of each meal they
[521] would sit around the stove and talk for a long while before dispersing. They engage in an almost endless conversation when there are guests to be entertained or when neighbors come to call after the master has just returned from a trip. When Ta-chi accompanied us to the village of San-ho-i-ta, visitors came almost continuously for the first day. Ta-chi would en-
273 tertain them all with wine, using wooden bowls as wine cups. The Lolo are fond of drinking, which has become a habit. Whether men or women, old or young, they all have a large capacity and can empty several cups at one draught. While distilled liquor is imported from the Han-Chinese region, the

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips, each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them, [252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip. Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only. 461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is 311 enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which 231 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo 556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns. Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated 233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by house- 343 hold slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool, used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed three times a year between the third and tenth month; 236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the 527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places 571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as [237 popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the 439] bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures outside the village in the early morning and returned to the stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

231 The Lolo do not
[262] drink milk but eat beef. The killing of an ox is considered a big occasion.

[564] Horses are the monopoly of the black Lolo, but are not driven in herds. The black Lolo use them for riding and hunting or for sports and racing. [66] The horse is the most precious animal, and its meat is not eaten.

Oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep, which are the most important domestic animals of the Lolo, constitute a part of their property with considerable economic value. Except for
262 the horse, the meat of oxen, sheep, and pigs can all be used for food. The daily meal of the Lolo is ordinarily limited to grains and vegetables. As to meat they have a different method of distribution. During the several festivals each year, such
262 as the wool fair, the New Year, and the farewell party to the
574 Buddha, they have to kill animals for sacrifice, after which members of the family gather to share in the sacrificial meat. On occasions such as weddings and funerals, they also divide the meat as a gift and eat and drink together. In cases of sickness, exorcising, drought, and praying for rain, they use magic to stabilize the disturbed emotions of the people, while at the same time they kill animals as sacrifices and gather together the clan members for a big feast. From the practical point of view, this kind of festival and entertainment is a traditional social device to give the people an opportunity to have an equal share of meat.

224 The economic life of the Lolo is basically agricultural and pastoral. Hunting, however, is also practiced. Groups of young Lolo would sometimes roam the wild mountains and forests to hunt tigers, leopards, and deer. Before the expedi-
[187, 262] tion they would consult the diviner on its result. The food from the animals they have captured is enjoyed together.

In industry, the building of a new house is considered
342 a major event. First, the builder assembles his clan members and neighbors and in their presence selects a date for building. Then, as an expression of united effort and mutual help, they all work together to build the mud wall, the wooden frames, the roof, and finally the walled fortress. Crafts,
463 such as the making of capes, ornaments, furniture, agricultural tools, wooden utensils, bamboo baskets, etc., are usually done by one or two persons. Only enough products are made to meet local household needs.

438 House, farm, and other immobile property are handed down as a family inheritance from father to son. They are not traded as commodities on the market. On the other hand, cattle, agricultural products, clothing and ornaments, furniture,

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

133 In travelling the three days' journey to Mr Long's home we had to cross a very high range of hills, on the top of which are a large number of beautiful springs of water. Down in the valleys below these hills one often finds tracts of land quite waterless, and here, high up, where scarcely anyone lives, and where wolves are very common, we came across much boggy land, with large gushing streams of beautifully clear water. I do not know the explanation of this exalted water system.

137 Descending the farther side of this high range of hills, we came across large quantities of the young edelweiss. These young gossamer-covered flowers are far more beautiful than the mature flowers. When the dew has fallen on the little flowers, and the early morning sun shines on them, the sight is one to make a traveller very glad. At such times these flowers seem to me as if they had come straight out from fairyland, and to speak of a world where all must be tending towards peace and beauty.

372 After spending a night in one of these aboriginal homes, where pine logs are usually burnt, and where there is no outlet for the dense smoke, one is always glad to get into the open air again, and the hills, covered with their flowers, in the early morning sunshine, greet one with the cheeriest of greetings. One often wishes of an evening to escape from the smoke and dirt of the indoors, out into the moonlight and
231 the late evening calm. But one scarcely ever dares to do so, for the dogs, kept by these Nosu landlords, are often terribly fierce and ready to tear a stranger to pieces. Sometimes, if I have ventured two feet outside of the door, I have had to have the landlord or one of his servants by my side, armed with a heavy stick. Only by free use of this stick, and by

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

vigorous shouting and cursing can the dogs be kept from 231
attacking the stranger; and they always seem to resent the interference on the part of the landlord with the stick, as if they were unjustly, and in an unsportsmanlike manner, being deprived of their legitimate prey. The landlord who gave us the savoury dish eaten with the porcupine quill had ten dogs, and they were fierce brutes all of them. They tried their best to get at me, and I moved about in great fear of a sudden rear attack. In addition to the dogs our host had one hundred sheep, twenty cows, ten horses, twenty pigs, forty fowls, and was worth about two thousand ounces of silver. In his household at the time of our visit he had six 567
male and seven female slaves.

When we arrived at Mr Long's home we had a very warm 574
welcome, and were soon very comfortably settled in a room specially built for guests. Some of these aboriginal chiefs know well how to make guests feel at home. It happened to be the month of the second Mrs Long, and to her fell the care of the guests. I have never known a lady, in England or China, who knows better how to care for guests. From early morn till late at night, she and her servants see that guests want for nothing, and he must be a very churl who cannot respond to such Oriental kindness.

After supper we sat around a large charcoal fire and told 186
yarns. Mr Long said Chinese and Nosu were like goats and sheep. No sooner are the Chinese bullied than they begin to cry out like goats, and to call the attention of all the world to their troubles. The Nosu, he said, were like sheep, you may even kill them, and they will remain quiet while you do so. I should like to hear what the Chinese would say in reference to this comparison. I remember passing a

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

241 is gathered and used as fodder for the cattle, or in the making of the straw mats which are used on the beds of the people [231] all over the country. As fodder for cattle the Nosu hillmen prefer the wild grass of the hills, and as a bed-mat is a luxury these men do not indulge in, the rice straw is ploughed into the fields again.

342 Near the ricefields were a few houses, where dwelt the cultivators of these fields. A rough wall surrounded the houses, evidently as a defence against attack. On the wall sat a couple of Nosu with their long felt capes on, and as 000 they caught sight of me they burst into laughter. My black English suit was a never-ending source of amusement to the tribes-people. They had never seen a human being so dressed before. The nearest approach to such a dressed being was the black bear, which is very common among these hills. Again and again the people burst out with the cry: "A man black bear." One hunter told me one day that had he suddenly come across me in the woods he would unhesitatingly have shot me for a bear. I am very glad the constant presence of friends prevented such a catastrophe. When talking it over one night I could not help remarking that it would have been a great take-in for us both. To the hunter who shot the man for a bear the layer after layer of garments would have been a surprising revelation. It was something to my advantage that my appearance always provoked hearty laughter. A man who laughs heartily at you cannot get very angry with you, try he never so hard. More than one good story has been told of how foreigners in China have saved their lives by being able to provoke a merry laugh in those who were going to attack them. All the time we were in Nosuland good humour and laughter were the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 ounces each, are much prized, and are carried great distances, finding a ready sale even in the province of Szechuan, where sugar-cane is one of the chief products of this, China's richest and largest province. Some peculiarity in the cane of Szechuan prevents this brown sugar being made, and by a kind of carrying-coals-to-Newcastle and finding-a-ready-market style, the coarse brown sugar of Yunnan is eagerly bought up right in the midst of the immense cane-fields of the sister province. The leaves of the dwarf oaks are used to wrap up the little brown cakes of sugar.

In still another province bordering on Yunnan there is a silkworm which feeds on these leaves, and from the cocoons of these worms is produced a very strong silk, nearly as good as, but hardly so highly finished as, the famous Shantungs so well known in Europe. Some of this silk we have sent to friends in England, who have made it into children's dresses, and it has been almost impossible to wear these dresses out.

231 291 We found a large number of sheep grazing on the Nosu hills, and among them a number of black ones. These black sheep formed quite a striking feature on the hill-sides. From the wool of these sheep the Nosu make their famous felt capes. The Yunnan Chinese and the other aborigines constantly wear felt capes in winter or rainy weather, but theirs are of a much coarser make than those worn by the independent Nosu. The Chinese capes are usually white or dyed blue. The Nosu capes are always a blackish brown, very much the colour of walnut stain.

462 482 312 As we were walking on towards our night's resting-place we passed several girls and women, carrying water. A large tub is carried on the back by a rope over the shoulders, the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

302 very rare cases, when, in order to circumvent some peculiarly obnoxious demon, the hair is allowed to grow in the natural way. I wonder if anyone has ever got right to the back of the wizard's mind which governs all these matters. Much of what these wizards say and do seems absurd, and often very ridiculous, and yet they have their system of philosophy and their reason for doing things. I expect the idea of allowing the hairs to grow is to deceive the demon into thinking the hairy person is not a Nosu, and so out of the particular jurisdiction of that feared denizen of the dark world. The Chinese often dress a baby boy in girl's clothes so as to make the evil sprites fancy the baby is only a girl and not worth paying attention to. Most ungallant are the sprites of the underworld, and their education is decidedly not up-to twentieth-century standard. One is half tempted to ask whether they have yet got the . . .—but one refrains.

574 At twenty minutes to seven there was a great commotion. Men and women began to talk excitedly. A number who had been squatting around the fire on which the tripod rested got up and moved to one side. It was as if they were making way for the arrival of another guest. On inquiry I was informed that they were about to bring in my supper. When one is hungry, what a fascinating word that word supper is! We were all very hungry, and I wondered what supper *à la* Nosu would be like.

[231] While I was wondering and waiting several men came in through the door, leading a fine fat goat. As the cattle of the households of these aboriginals often sleep under the same roof as the people of the farm, and sometimes quite close to the men and women, there was nothing very unusual about a goat coming into the room where I and others were to sleep.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 it has nothing to do with it that I am writing it. The longer one can put off the description of the walking supper the better one is pleased. In those places that one sometimes from sheer contrariness thinks about, it is the well-groomed waiter that brings in the supper. Here the supper brought itself in, and the foreigner lifting the veil in search of adventures was to get a shock before he and supper made closer acquaintance.

574 I watched the scene with great interest, wondering what
● 231 was going to happen next. Inexpressible, confounded horrors! What in the world are they going to do? There was no time to wonder any longer. Right in front of where we were sitting they proceeded to throw the goat down and kill it. The knife was very blunt and the slaughtering was clumsily done. The whole affair was barbarous. The man stopped right in the midst of the killing to sharpen his knife. It was a most nauseous sight, and I would gladly have kicked the whole show out into the snow or run away myself. But I had determined to grumble at nothing and to go through with it all, whatever might happen. I felt, however, I owed a deep apology to the poor animal who had so ceremoniously been led into the presence of the foreigner whose coming had brought such disaster to it.

Turning away from the scene, I looked into the flames of the cheery fire and read therein pictures very different from the scenes being enacted close by. If anyone has a fancy for taking his supper in a slaughter-house let him pay a visit to Nosuland and win his way into the hearts of this strange, interesting, brave people.

As soon as the goat had been skinned and fairly well cleaned, the head and legs were cut off. The head was thrown into

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

the fire to burn itself clean, and the legs were given to the children. I was told the children always had the legs as their perquisite. They burnt these in the fire until the hair was all gone and the meat was warmed through, and then ate them with great relish. Not a trace of salt did they have with the burnt legs. Presently one of the men brought over the lungs, heart, kidneys, etc., and burnt these for a very short time in the ashes of the wood fire. They were then taken out, cut up into pieces, put on a wooden trencher with a high stand and presented to Mr Long and me. This was a mark of respect to us, and there was no way out of it. Mr Long was quite ready to partake of the dish, and I imitated him. The half-cooked, saltless meat was very sweet and had quite a flavour of its own. When one had overcome one's first reluctance there was nothing to find fault with.

It is considered the correct thing to kill the supper animal in the presence of the guest. The guest then knows for a certainty that it is for his particular benefit that the animal has been prepared, and he can also be sure that the goat is not a diseased one and that the meat is not some old remains which a former guest has been unable to eat. If a second party of guests arrives on the same day a second animal is killed and cooked with the same ceremony.

At twenty minutes to eight the meat had been all cut up, and it was all placed in the huge pan of boiling water over the wood fire. All the meat is cooked at once, and if possible eaten at the one meal. Nothing should be left over. The host wants it to be known that he is caring only for his guest and is not thinking at all about his own needs. While the meat was cooking one of the household girls every now and again turned it over with a large wooden spoon. The spoon

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

and I was caught with foot in stirrup unable to extricate myself. After that escape I learned the Chinese style, and now on the rare occasions when my horse slips I can usually clear myself easily. I have seen one or two nasty accidents which might have been avoided if the riders had followed the Chinese method. Of course when it comes to racing the heels are no match for the toes, although on a decent stretch of road, even with heels in, on a good pony one can ride at a very fast pace.

The finest Nosu rider I ever saw was a lame man, who got about with the help of a long stick. On his legs he was very slow and clumsy, but put him on a horse which had any mettle in it and the lame man was transformed. When urging the horse to its fastest he would stretch his legs up almost level with the horse's neck and lean backwards as far as possible, and then away like the lightning. He would ride the wildest horse in this way, and could break in the roughest of Nosu or Chinese bronchos.

The prices asked for the horses brought for our inspection were very reasonable. Ten ounces of silver, worth then about thirty shillings, was the price of the best pony brought there. I got hold of a black-and-white one which rendered me magnificent service for some years. It would take me up and down the hills in my district without ever a mishap. When starting off on a journey which he had been before, I could throw the reins over his neck, take out my book or newspaper and read for hours together. One had just now and again to look at the road and to give an occasional word to the pony. He would face anything I put him to, and had not the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

23 slightest trace of viciousness. When at last he died I felt that I had lost a friend, and to this day many people talk about "Black and White" which their teacher rode for years.

There is in Nosuland a race of diminutive ponies standing about as high as a table and very much smaller than a donkey. They brought one of these to us and asked five ounces of silver for it. I have never seen such diminutive ponies in any other part of China. They seem quite peculiar to Nosuland. One of the missionaries in Chaotung purchased one of the little ponies for his children to ride. It was not much larger than a big goat.

The day they brought the horses and ponies to us for sale they told me the story of a flying pony owned in the days of long ago by a certain Va-sa-neh. This pony could travel in the air and on the clouds, going at a tremendous speed. The rider could reach Peking in a couple of hours, and after spending a few hours there transacting business, he would return home with equal speed. Our modern air-ships have to take a second place for speed compared with the wonderful flying horse ridden by Va-sa-neh. One New Year's Day Va-sa-neh's son-in-law, Oo-meng, came to see him, and received the flying horse as a present. Taking it back home with him, his officers were very anxious to see what the horse was like. One of these remarked that the horse was far too shaggy, and would look much better if its mane were cut. This advice was forthwith followed, and as in the case of the Old Testament hero, Samson, with the cutting of the locks the wonderful powers departed. With the loss of its powers no one any more prized the poor horse. It wandered away in the direction of its old home, and one day the son of the old

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

master saw it as it stood on the other side of a steep ravine. 231
Rushing indoors, he told his mother that the flying horse had returned, for which statement he was ridiculed. The mother, however, came out to see the horse on the other side of the ravine. The boy called and whistled to the horse as he had done in the old days. The horse immediately grew restless, and answered the call. Instead of going round and leading the horse home a safe way the boy continued to whistle and call. The horse remembered its old powers, and tried to fly across the ravine. It failed to do so and, falling to the bottom, was dashed to pieces.

Every year the Nosu north of the Yangtse are supposed to 648
send forty-eight horses as tribute to Peking, sending them via 231
Chentu, the provincial capital of Szechuan. How many of these actually reach Chentu, and whether any ever reach Peking, I do not know. They also told me that from Tibet 006
there was forwarded every year, as tribute, three bushels and three gallons of small gold. Of late years more Chinese money has found its way to Tibet than Tibetan money to China. One story was that this gold was got from a cave, the cave every year producing just enough to pay the tribute. Another story was that the Tibetans went by boat to a cliff of solid gold and knocked off enough to pay the amount due. If their luck was good they knocked off a piece just sufficient. If their luck was bad a huge boulder of gold rolled off, smashing the boat and drowning all hands. What a magnificent burial! Yet I know many who would rather be alive in a mud hut than dead under a mountain of gold. Over and over again I have heard the Chinese talk of an Eldorado existing in Nosuland. They call this mythical place the Wan Tan Ping—the ten-thousand-piculs plain—meaning,

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

564 sometimes to loss of life. The Black Bloods in return for
701 their lands must put their lives and services at the disposal of the overlords, who sometimes rule them with a rod of iron. I know one Black Blood who dare not ride a horse in the district where he lives because the overlord has forbidden that privilege to Nosu of the second rank. When talking to me about the affairs in his neighbourhood the Black Blood saved his face by ascribing his not riding a horse to some other reason, but I found out the true reason why he always walked.
•[231] I know it was a real deprivation, because to a Nosu a horse is almost as necessary as to an Arab of the desert.

[567] Nearly all the Earth Eyes and Black Bloods keep a number
564 of White Blood retainers, some of whom are slaves, with their
631 property, persons and family at the absolute disposal of their masters. These retainers again have portions of land assigned to them, and pay for this land in personal service. They also have to hold themselves in readiness to respond to their lord's call, and to fight for him and even lay down their
567 lives if so commanded. I visited some of the slaves' homes,
726 and saw, hung on the wall of each house, weapons and a bag
202 of oatmeal. In the bag are also a thin copper basin and a spoon. The weapons must always be in readiness and the bag full. Whenever there is trouble or the overlord needs help in fighting the ram's horn is blown from the lord's castle or residence, and as soon as the warning sound is heard the retainer seizes his bag of oatmeal, ties it over his shoulder, takes his weapons in his hands and hastens to the sound of the ram's horn. It is astonishing how far the sound of these horns carry. In some places the aborigines who have become Christians call their companions to worship by the blowing of one of these horns. The hole is not at the end of the horn,

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

From a pack saddle we saw on a horse that passed us we 492
saw that animals have to rough it as well as men. There 231
were two rough, wooden angles joined to a flat piece of wood on either side. This was put, as it was, on the horse's back, without a pad of any kind, and apparently must cut into the horse's flesh. I did not, however, see the terrible sights of wounded horses such as one sees any day on the horse roads of West China. I should think that the Nosu are kinder to their horses than the Chinese, who are at times unmerciful to the beasts of burden.

As we neared the end of the day's journey we came to a 789
rock on which was a piece of coarse bamboo matting. On the matting was a chopping-block, and near by a bag containing something or other. Just what was in the bag we did not find out. This was the work of some wizard trying to get rid of the demon of sorrows. If one only knew how to 000
get rid of the sorrow of all these Nosu and the other tribes! Apparently there is only one way, the way which the Man of Sorrows announced to the world centuries ago, and lost His life in doing so.

The day's journey was finished at half-past two, when we reached a village named Gu-tieh. We were very hungry, and glad to reach the end of our day's march. Entering the wattle gate at the end of the village we were first shown into a slave's house and all sat down by the fire. Here we remained some time, wondering what treatment the lord of the village was going to mete out to us. The first thing given us to appease our hunger was a lot of raw turnips. This 262
place is famous for its sweet turnips, and our men were delighted to get them. I was so hungry that I felt I could 000
eat almost anything. While we were eating the turnips a

282 THE FRIENDLY WIDOW'S HOME

[162] She has three sons and five daughters, all at home with her. 574 584 Here again our visit had to do with the marrying of a daughter, but this time it was Mr Long's turn and I was left alone. Ah-ku was very anxious to get one of her daughters betrothed to one of Mr Long's sons, and this was partly why she had been so pressing in her invitation to us. It is an expensive thing in Nosuland to marry a daughter of a Black 583 Blood. Two or three hundred taels, say forty pounds, have to be given for the bride, and Ah-ku was likely to make a good thing of her daughter's matrimonial ventures. If the parents of the girl are generous, they will often send their daughter away with a well-stocked trousseau, equal in value to a good part of the money presented to them by the bridegroom's parents. If, however, they are near, and bent only on making a good bargain for themselves, they will send the girl away with bare necessaries, and keep the silver they have received for themselves.

574 Our evening meal the first night we stayed in the friendly 231 widow's home was prepared in a different way from the suppers of previous days. There was, however, a cruelty about the preparation which would disgust most Westerners. A very fine calf was led into the courtyard, facing the room where we were staying, and seeing they were about to kill it for us, I begged them to desist, saying that a sheep would be ample, and would satisfy all the requirements of the widow's hospitality. But in this request we found ourselves up against an opposition we were unable to overcome. All the retainers, to a man, were against us. They were bent on a good feed of veal, and were determined not to allow the guests to interfere with their wishes.

231 One man led the calf by a rope and another of the slaves

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

231 stood ready to kill it. He asked for an axe, and one of the girls went off into an inner room to fetch one. Taking the axe, he proceeded to beat the calf to death with the handle of the axe. First there was a big blow delivered over the head, and then there were blows all over the body. It is said that this beating gives the meat a very fine flavour. It was a cruel operation, though possibly the first heavy blow over the head stunned the creature and deadened the pain. Sheep are sometimes killed in the same way.

[352] 574 882 The bearskin I had to sit on around the fire was a very fine one. It was five feet long from neck to stump of tail, and had been shot some years ago by Ah-ku's husband, when he was alive. There was the usual presentation of wine, and one of the sons, twelve years of age, took his basin with the rest, at which the retainers and others laughed heartily. It was not that they objected to his drinking of wine, but to his taking his place with the others and considering himself a man already.

354 Usually in these homes, when a light is needed, some sticks of dried young bamboo are burnt. The stick may be five feet or more long, and one end is thrust into the rafters or a hole in the wall. The other end slants downward, and gradually burns away. By constantly picking off the burnt end, making one's fingers a pair of snuffers, the stick gives a fairly good light. I have sometimes met, at the beginning of winter, a lot of people from a village, going off to the hill jungle to gather their winter supply of bamboo candles. They need to be well dried before they will burn readily. With such lights as these I have known the aborigines learn to read, and make quite fair progress in their books during the dark winter evenings. At Ah-ku's home lights were provided

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHAPTER XXIII

HILL WARFARE AND STATE ROBES

DURING the night, snow fell freely on all the hills, and the ground was covered even in the low-lying district where Ah-ku's house is. Very early two of the maids were busy at a stone mill, husking some rice for breakfast. The stone mill in the home is almost universal in all the country places, and husking rice and buckwheat, grinding maize and beans, is one of the chief duties of the women and girls. Some of the mills are very heavy, and need a lot of strength to work them. Occasionally they are turned by persons walking around them and pushing with their chests against sticks tied to the sides of the upper stone. Here and there, in a large village, there is a mill worked by a horse, which is blindfolded. He continues his monotonous round and round all the day long. Were the animal not blindfolded he would soon be too giddy to keep on with his work. I saw some children one day imitating one of these mill horses by catching hold of a pillar and going round and round until they were too giddy to keep on any longer standing up. They then changed hands and went round in the reverse direction, unwinding themselves, as they said. Presently, when they had finished, they stood upright without a trace of giddiness.

Wandering about Ah-ku's house was a tame male pheasant belonging to one of the boys, and in a cage was a dove. One of the commonest of the cage birds in West China is the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

231 thrush. Some of these thrushes which one sees hung up outside a house sing as if they would burst their throats. 231 Soldiers are very fond of rearing these thrushes, and at first 541 one was pleased to see these men enjoying the song of these magnificent songsters. It was, however, a shock, later on, to find out that the birds were not kept for their song but for their fighting powers. Matches are arranged between different thrushes, and sometimes large sums of money are laid on the result. If you see a thrush in a cage and ask if it is a fine bird, meaning, of course, can it sing well, the answer will be given, not at all in reference to its powers of song, but solely to its record in beating other thrushes in fierce fight. There is another little bird, about the size of a large tit, which is the most renowned of the bird fighters. These birds are really vicious fighters, and will frequently kill one another in their arranged combats. Large prices are paid for one of these little birds that has been the victor in many combats. The district of the famous salt wells in the province of Szechuan is noted for its number of fighting birds. The birds are taken there from other parts of West China, as around the wells there is not a great deal of trees to attract feathered life.

276 The friendly widow got up late. I have a suspicion that 249 she smoked opium, and in consequence was not ready to rise 648 at the same time as normal folk. Years ago opium was 439 practically unknown in Nosuland, and the hillmen despised the Chinese for being such slaves to the drug. But since the anti-opium campaign has been so vigorously pushed in West China, many Chinese have gone across to Nosuland and, by large money payments to the chiefs, have received permission to cultivate the poppy. When the poppy-juice

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

As a matter of fact, the tenants,
427 for the sake of mutual protection, group themselves in hamlets and villages. Besides the nominal rent they pay, the laird has the right to make levies on them on special occasions, such as funerals, weddings, and when he has litigation in the Chinese courts. Each of the tenants also owes the laird so many days' labour during the year with his cattle, and this he pays in cultivating the land which the laird actually farms, and in gathering his crops. When the landlord has a dispute with another laird, his tenants are expected to follow him to the field if it comes to fighting, and to defend his residence if it is attacked.

427 These tenants, No-su and Miao, are very
511 poor, but, as far as I was able to judge, their
262 condition is not intolerable. Certainly they
342 appear to be better off than the peasantry were in France two hundred years ago, and than most of the peasantry are in Russia to-day. They live principally on maize, buckwheat, and oatmeal; their hovels are nearly always made of mud,
• 231 and badly thatched with straw. Many families have a pony, and all of them two or three cows, a few pigs, half a dozen or a dozen sheep and goats, and some fowls. The oxen are used for ploughing. Like the Chinese, they never milk their cattle and goats, and never use milk, butter,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

or cheese. This, we think, is a great pity as there is plenty of unoccupied land, such as it is, which they can use as pasturage for their cattle. The children drive the cattle and sheep out to pasture on the hill-sides early in the morning, and stay to mind them till the time for the morning meal, when they drive them home again. During the middle of the day the cattle are penned up in the hovel, and let out to pasture during the afternoon, and driven home again as it is getting dark. There is plenty of fuel about, and the tenants can go to the wood and bring home as much as they like. Moreover, there are no game laws.

There are wild beasts about, wolves, foxes, leopards, wild boars, and even tigers; and people, especially children, are not infrequently devoured by them. Some of the Miao are great hunters. They use spears, crossbows, and poisoned arrows. I think the poison they use is aconite. When they wound a leopard or tiger with their poisoned arrows, they allow the animal to get away, and later go after it. They generally find it dead or dying.

We have already mentioned Miao superstitions and legends, and here we shall only relate what we know of No-su religious beliefs and legends. These are the more difficult to learn

/170 cont'd/

L 584 father enters upon negotiations with the girl's father. If the latter's response is favorable, a go-between is sought. He must be an individual who has many children. The go-between is invited to dinner, and during the meal, at which meat and wine are served, he is asked to go to such and such a family to ask for such and such a girl in marriage. He goes there for the evening meal, with one or two pounds of meat and two measures of wine. He makes the proposal, and the next day L [273] he can bring back a favorable answer to the boy's family. They fete him, which is called "drinking the wine of the promise." They wait six months or a year and proceed to the second operation called "drinking the wine of the end of the negotiations." The go-between is again invited to dinner. After the meal he goes to the girl's family, taking along a goat, a pound of salt, and 20 measures of wine. There L [262 the goat is killed, and they feast while discussing the conditions of ● 231] the marriage. After the banquet the go-between returns to announce to the boy's father the conditions, which are nearly always 6 or 7 tael's L of silver and flowered shoes or a turban. If the boy's family is rich, [301] more is demanded: silver bracelets, rings, and earrings and eardrops. Two months before the wedding the go-between conducts the ceremony of setting the wedding day. For that he comes first to the boy's home, from where after a family-style meal he goes to the girl's home to set the day of the wedding. He takes a piece of cloth, a liang of sewing thread, two measures of wine. The day before the wedding a friend L of the family takes a 20-pound goat to the girl's home. The morning 585 of the big day the go-between, who has received two measures of wine /171/ and two goat heads for his trouble, takes to the girl's home 6 or 7 ounces of silver, the shoes, etc. He is accompanied by the boy, who upon arriving at the girl's home prostrates himself to his parents-in-law, thanking them for giving their daughter to him. The daughter herself stays in the kitchen; she must not see her fiancé. L Then the family gives a big feast to the guests. The meal is served M in the courtyard under tents. They sing. The old people especially [533] distinguish themselves by their improvisations. (This sung Lo-lo dialogue can very well be compared with the T'ou-jen song of the toilette, p. 59.) What have you put on your daughter's head? Your daughter

[177 cont.]

291 the top of the head by means of a wooden comb, and bound in a white headband. Covering the whole is a small turban, whose ends, [802] embroidered and decorated with beads, hang down in back of the head and reach to the shoulders. No portion of the head is shaved.

"Lolo" men and women wear wrapped leggings of linen. However, they very often go about with bare legs and feet.

301 The various feminine jewelry, rings, bracelets, necklaces, are of silver and of a style very close to that of the "Méo" jewelry.

The "Lolo" cabins are of two principal models. In the wealthy 342 villages, established near fertile fields, the cabins are built on 291 piles, like those of the "Thai." The animals are confined underneath the house.

In the poor hamlets, the cabin rests directly upon the ground and is made of a straw roof and of walls of maize stalks. The domestic animals then are kept in a shed near the cabin.

[356] In any case, the dwelling consists of only a single room, generally clean and well cared for. There are no partitions forming interior compartments.

The furniture is always of the simplest: a cot bed the length 352 of the long side walls, chests, tables and benches. The crops are [251] stored almost everywhere.

The kitchen always contains two hearths, one of which is spe- 354 cially set apart for the preparation of the food of the unmarried girls, for the reason which will be indicated later.

[178] The kitchen utensils, pans in the shape of spherical skull- 415 caps, trays, bowls, cups, and so on, are in no way unique and are similar to the models already described.

According to the type of farming, irrigated rice fields or 262 mountainous slopes, the "Lolo" eats either rice, or maize and mountain rice. Besides, he consumes a great quantity of vegetables, peas, beans, cucumbers, eggplants, and so on. Meat is reserved for festi- [273] val days. Alcohol made from rice or maize is often drunk immoderately.

[681] From the time they have reached puberty, the young girls must not eat meat and may not use utensils in which greasy foods have been cooked, under pain of falling ill immediately.

[178 cont.]

262 [354] This belief explains what was said above about the second hearth entirely reserved for cooking for the unmarried girls (1).

[825]

1. The "Lolo" women of Baolac must not eat duck's flesh. This prohibition appears to be motivated by the fact that, since ducks are supposed not to know how to set on their eggs or to care for their little ones, these faults will be acquired by the women who eat the flesh of the duck.

276 The men smoke opium, often to excess.

Men and women smoke tobacco (water pipe or pipe with the small bowl).

243 Cultivation of rice and of maize is done by the processes already indicated and by means of agricultural implements in all respects similar to those which have been described previously.

249 Opium is raised wherever the ground and the climate are favorable.

244 The vegetables are grown in small gardens or, more often, the plantings of maize, as with the "Méo."

262 Fruits are numerous and highly esteemed: pears, peaches, guavas, grapefruit, plums, and even walnuts and chestnuts.

● 231 The domestic animals and the fowl are the same as among the neighboring groups.

[224] [226] The "Lolo" keep a few bees. They do not hunt. They sometimes fish, using small casting nets.

433 The industries of the "Lolo" are in no respects unique. The manufacture of cloth, of alcohol, of dyed goods, and so on, is carried out by the ordinary processes already mentioned.

437 Trade is limited to the exchange of excess crops for cloth, [179] dyes, and the minor supplies necessary for making clothing and embroidery.

322 534 The tribes who are neighbors of the "Méo" know how to make wooden buckets and the big flute with six or eight tubes called "sen."

[181 cont.]

769 778 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 53 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo" they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 [131] The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is represented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 582 [167] Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo." [181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 198 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chinese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 231 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:

1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground

[182 cont.]

342 level, in such a way that the under part of the cabins can be used
231 only for sheltering fowl, goats, and pigs. (The tall domestic animals must be kept outside the dwellings, in the stables of the model already described.)

342 2. Rectangular cabins of pisé built level with the ground and
[177] covered with a straw roof in two sections. This model is found especially in the "F'ou-la" hamlets in contact with the "Méo." They always have on one of the long sides of the house, a kind of rather large terrace, covered by a prolongation of the roof. The interior frequently has a corridor running the length of this same long side, upon which open the various rooms of the house. The interior partitions, as well as the material closing the space between the top of the walls and the upper angle of the roof, are of crushed bamboo.
[356] The inside of the cabins is rather well cared for.

(Photo 335, Plate 44, shows a "F'ou-la" village of the region of [183] Muongkhuong, built in a "Méo" zone.) The structures have much similarity to "Méo" cabins, but the surroundings of the cabins are infinitely cleaner than in the hamlets of the latter group.

291 The costume and the headdress of the "F'ou-la" men much
177 resemble those of the "Lolo" described above. The jacket is short and the bottom of the pantaloon is embroidered over a rather large width. But, in addition to the uniform of the tribe, the "F'ou-la" men wear indiscriminately the "Thai" or "Méo" costume or even the Chinese.

291 The feminine dress of the tribe includes the following articles:

1. A jacket of a rather short type, but still slightly longer than that of the "Lolo" women, leaving bare no part of the waist. This jacket usually is of very dark-blue material, almost black. It is buttoned in front of the neck and on the right side. It is edged on the front by a light-blue band more or less wide, followed by a white or light-blue piping. Some "F'ou-la" women wear jackets of very light blue, in this case the border and the piping are of red. (See the woman at the right in photo 514, Plate 44.) The jacket has a narrow collar (one or two centimeters) decorated with embroidery, the wide sleeves reaching down to the middle of the forearm and ending in two or three circular bands, white, red, or blue, reaching about up to the height of the elbow.